

The Principia.

First Principles in Religion, Morals, Government, and the Economy of Life.

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PROSPECTUS.

Our object, by this publication, is to promote pure religion, sound morals, Christian reforms; the abolition of slaveholding, caste, the rum-traffic, and kindred crimes—the application of Christian principles to all the relations, duties, business arrangements, and aims of life;—to the individual, the family, the Church, the State, the Nation—to the work of converting the world to God, restoring the common brotherhood of man, and rendering Society the type of heaven. Our text book is the Bible; our standard, the Divine law; our expediency, obedience; our plan, the Gospel; our trust, the Divine promise; our panoply, the whole armor of God.

Editors friendly, please copy, or notice.

THE AMERICAN OLIGARCHY—WHEREIN LIES ITS STRENGTH?

NUMBER THREE.

AN OBJECTION—OUR PECULIAR FORM OF GOVERNMENT.

We have already reached the conclusion that the controlling power of the slaveholders over this nation, is wrapped up in, and secured by, the simple fact that the nation tolerates slavery, that it sanctions, by that permission, the crime of slaveholding, which it ought to suppress, and elevates to a superior caste, over innocent citizens, the criminals whom they should bring to justice.

Before proceeding further in the illustration and argument it will be proper to meet an objection that will be raised, just at this point.

It will be said by some, that the arguments and illustrations already adduced in the previous numbers, though conclusive and satisfactory in respect to a township, or a State wielding civil Government, and though they fully account for the supremacy of slavery in our *slave States*; are not sufficient to account for the supremacy of the slaveholders over the entire country, including the non-slaveholding States. The fact of such control will not be denied by these objectors, but they will doubt or deny that we have sufficiently accounted for that fact. They will affirm and magnify the doctrine of "State Sovereignty," the right of the non-slaveholding States, under the Constitution, to be *free States*, and the right of the slave States, under the same Constitution, to be *slave States*. They will advert to the limited powers of the Federal Government, "the reserved right of the States," and the absence of power in the Federal Government, and consequently, in the nation, and in the people of the non-slaveholding States, to abolish slavery where it now exists in the *Slave States*. From all this they will infer that the nation and the non-slaveholding States are not morally responsible for the slavery existing in the slave States. And they will ask why, at least, the people of the non-slaveholding States, not interfering with the people of the slave States, should be subjected to the control of the three hundred thousand slaveholders of the South?

But these objectors will not deny the matter of fact control of that petty oligarchy, over the entire nation. They will only ask, *why it must needs be so?* And they will demand further illustrations and proofs, before they will admit that the connection of the whole country with these 300,000 slaveholders, necessitates the subjection of the whole country to their control, in the manner, and by the process, as we have, in our last previous number, described. And they will say that our illustrations, drawn from an isolated township, or a single State, do not apply to our union of large and independent States, connected only by specific and peculiar articles of agreement.

Upon this objection, a number of observations may be made, in reply.

1. We might deny the correctness of the constitutional expositions upon which it is founded. And we might confidently challenge the ablest constitutional lawyer in the land, to arrive at any other conclusions than our own, in respect to the subject, if he will but follow those just rules of legal interpretation which are laid down by the Federal Courts, and scrupulously enforced and applied by them, in all cases wherein the *interests of slavery* do not require a disregard of them.

We will not ask the Federal Government to exercise any higher or more doubtful powers *against slavery*, than have been constantly exercised in its *favor*—nor than have been as constantly exercised on other subjects of legislation. The powers of the Federal Government are never found defective, when the behests of the three hundred thousand slaveholders are to be obeyed; nor are they ever found adequate to the performance of any service against them.

2. But, waiving all questions concerning the constitution, and concerning Federal and State rights, according to that instrument, we fall back upon the nature of things, and the inevitable necessities of the case. And we affirm that, whatever the Constitution may have provided, or may have failed to provide; whether the Federal Government has plenary power over the subject, or no power at all, the *fact remains* that so long as slavery is permitted to exist, and does exist in this, or any other nation, under any form of Government, the *slaveholders* will constitute of necessity, the controlling power of the nation. If the Government be nominally Republican, the slaveholders will control the government, until the government puts a stop to their slaveholding. And if the government be a monarchy, the slaveholders will control the monarch, unless the monarch puts an end to their slaveholding. If, for example, the nobles of Russia, should claim a large population of the empire, as their "goods and chattels personal," to all intents, constructions and purposes whatsoever,—and if the Emperor should permit and protect their claim of slave property, then *they* become the absolute monarchs of their slaves, and his empire becomes divided between himself and the slaveholders. He is only the nominal monarch, and they are the real ones.*

3. Returning from these observations, we will illustrate the nature and workings of slavery in our Federal Republic, by supposing a parallel case on a smaller scale.

Instead of the one township of fifty slaveholders, described in our last number, we will imagine thirty-three contiguous townships, united together for mutual benefit and convenience, fifteen of which shall have slaveholders and slaves, and the other eighteen shall be composed of non-slaveholders.

Over these thirty-three townships, or composed of them, or instituted by them, or their citizens, we will suppose a general government, with a general revenue, a common military force, under the control of the chief magistrate. Suppose the general government to have all the powers exercised by our Federal Government. The town governments attend to their local concerns, and the general government to the general concerns, and the relations to surrounding States. Limit and define these powers as you please. Construct the articles of agreement as you please, or as variously as our Federal constitution is construed.

* We do not understand this to be the fact in respect to the Russian nobility and their serfs, who are not properly speaking, *slaves*, in the American sense of that word, not being "chattels personal," to all intents, constructions, and purposes whatsoever." Yet we deem it more than probable that the power of the nobles over their serfs, does introduce a disturbing power into the empire, making it difficult to govern the country by fixed laws, or by the will of the monarch.

What will be the result? In the fifteen towns, it will be the same as in the one town we have before described.

The town will, of necessity, forbid slaveholding, and thus allow of no slaveholders, or else it will tolerate and permit slaveholding. If it does the latter, it will acknowledge the slaves to be the "property" of their "owners"—for this, and nothing else, is the tenure by which they are held. This, and nothing else, is the claim of the slaveholders. This, and nothing else, is the authority held and exercised by them, over the slaves. If the slaves are acknowledged by the town government to be property in the hands of their owners, then the administrators of the town government, will of course, protect the slaveholders in the possession of that property, just as it protects other property holders in the possession of the property they possess. And the "owners" of that slave property, will be constituted a nobility, having supreme control over their slaves, so that the protection of them, (the slaves,) by the civil government, will be withdrawn from them. In short, the town will have a *Slave Code*.

This was before shown. We repeat it here, that it may be kept distinctly in mind, while we proceed with our next statement.

4. Such being the state of things in the fifteen towns, the government established by the thirty-three towns, however constituted, and under whatever articles of agreement, will have to take its position accordingly.

It will, in the very nature of the case, be obliged to do one of these two things. It will have to regard and treat the human beings held as slaves, in the fifteen towns, either as the slaveholders regard and treat them, "goods and chattels personal," and so protect the slaveholders in the possession, use, and control of their property, or else it will be obliged to regard them as *persons*, and protect them as *persons*, subjects of the government, owing allegiance to it, and therefore entitled to its protection.

To do neither the one thing nor the other, the government would find to be impossible.

If it did the former, its legislation and jurisprudence, would protect slavery; and the common government of the thirty-three towns would be morally responsible for the existence of the slavery *thus protected*; and so likewise would be their constituency, in the eighteen non-slaveholding towns.

If it did the latter, if it took the remaining alternative, if it regarded and treated the slaves, *not as the property* of their pretended owners, but as *subjects*, entitled as such, to protection, then that protection would emancipate them from the authority and control of the slaveholders.

It would avail nothing to plead that, by the terms of the agreement between the towns, the common government was invested with no power to emancipate the slaves,—that the government being a derived and limited government, the grant of power to emancipate, was withheld; that the exclusive authority over their "domestic institutions," and local affairs, was among the "reserved rights" of the towns.

The statement might be either true or untrue. In neither case would the statement we have made, be disproved.—If *true*, then it remains true that the common government and its whole constituency in the thirty-three towns, having agreed to institute a government which should tolerate, and thus protect slavery, were partakers in the moral responsibility of its existence. If *not true*, then the responsibility remains, of course, as no one will deny.

In either case, the moral responsibility remains. In either case, it remains true that the government, whatever may be its limitations, and its powers, *cannot help* treating the slaves as subjects, and protecting them as subjects, (which would emancipate them,) or else treating them as "proper-

ty," and protecting, within the sphere of its functions, their "owner's" right of property in them.

5. And this brings us directly to the main point before us, namely, the problem of the **SLAVEHOLDER'S POWER** over the entire *thirty-three towns*. It is the same in nature and in operation, as the slaveholder's power over any one of the slaveholding towns. We have seen that in the *single town*, the tolerance of slaveholding, was the recognition of a superior caste, an order of nobility, a controlling oligarchy, which, so long as it was allowed to exist, could exist only in its own proper character, as a controlling power. In the *thirty-three united towns*, it will be the same. As the tolerance of slavery, under the town government, is the establishing of a controlling power over the town, so the tolerance of slavery by the *united* government, is the establishing of the same controlling power over the *union* of towns. The only difference will be the longer lapse of time required for completing the subjugation, in the latter case, than in the former, owing to the wider domain, the greater number of inhabitants, the more complex system of government, and the greater friction of the machinery. But like causes will produce like effects. The further illustration of all this, must be deferred.

The present number has been occupied (more space than we had anticipated) to remove the everyday objection that "the peculiar structure of our government"—too complex to be understood by the common people, vitiates all reasonings on this subject from the acknowledged principles of government and law in general.

There is not the slightest foundation for the objection. The case of the thirty-three towns, fifteen of which were slaveholding, and eighteen of them non-slaveholding, is substantially, the case of our thirty-three States, thus diverse, yet thus united under one general government. What we have said of the one, we might say over again, of the other. And we might appeal to all the appropriate facts, of our past history, and of our present condition, in proof of the truthfulness of the analogy, or resemblance. The slaveholders of the country, few as they are, have controlled, and do control the United States, just as we have supposed the smaller number to control the united towns.

Only permit slavery to exist, and you concede all that it can ask or desire.

Under the forms of a Republic, or of a Monarchy, under any constitution, or under no constitution, with one set of constitutional expositions, with another, or with none—whatever compacts may be made, or not made, and whether they are respected or violated, the State, or the nation that permits slaveholding, permits and installs a *controlling power*, in the persons of those slaveholders, over the State or nation, from which there is no possible escape, but by the suppression of the privileged order of slaveholders.

There are no Constitutions, compacts, statutes, judicial decisions, forms of government or compromises, that can prevent this, for the simple reason that none of these things, nor all of them combined, can annul the original laws of nature and of social humanity, inscribed by the Creator upon man, and rendered efficacious by an overruling Providence. The statesman who ignores this, has yet to learn the alphabet of political science. Men may sneer at the "higher law" but they can never escape from its jurisdiction.

WAY-MARKS IN THE MORAL WAR WITH SLAVERY.

BY REV. HENRY T. CHEEVER.

NUMBER IX.

It is a cheering, and noteworthy way-mark of progress in the anti-slavery reform, that religionists anywhere, begin so far to apprehend and approve the principles and plans of Radical Christian Abolitionists, as to claim them for their own. There is a late communication from Pittsburgh, Pa., in the New York Evangelist, in proof of this. After intimating that the public address there, upon the recent occasion of forming a Church anti-slavery society, was, contrary to expectation, "not very ultra," and that "the plan given for the removal of slavery, proposed nothing new," the writer says:

"It is instructive to observe how the most extreme anti-slavery men, when they set themselves about writing out a plan which the church should adopt in dealing with slavery, invariably propose, almost precisely what the (N. S.) Presbyterian Church has done."

Now, it is worth while to examine this claim to Radical Christian Abolitionism, on behalf of the N. S. Presbyterian Church, as "having been for twenty years in advance of all others upon the subject of slavery," and as "having done almost precisely what extreme anti-slavery men propose."

And, in the first place, it is to be said, that neither in the address referred to, nor at any other time, has any one ever set himself, in behalf of the Church Anti-slavery Society, to "write out a plan which the church should adopt in dealing with slavery," for three reasons: 1st. Because no church has ever called for such a plan. 2d. Because it would be quite a work of supererogation to write it. And 3d. Because the thing to be done by the church or the churches, to destroy slavery, is so simple as to need no plan, written or unwritten, viz, the simple refusal of Christian fellowship to those who are in the practice of the sin of slaveholding, and the making of abstinence from slaveholding (as in the Covenant, and United Presbyterian Churches, and in the American Missionary Society's Churches, in Kentucky), a condition of membership in the Church.

If any thing which the Church Anti-Slavery Society has ever incorporated into its platform, or which its Secretary has ever put forth in any address, or which any public speaker or writer in its behalf has ever, at any time, promulgated, could be dignified with the name of a plan, it is simply this, as expressed in the third, fifth, and seventh of the Declaration of Principles, viz.:

"III. The system of American slavery, and the practice of slaveholding, essentially sinful and anti-Christian, and to be dealt with, therefore, as such, by Christian churches and ministers."

"V. The duty of one family or section of the Christian Church to rebuke and refuse fellowship to another section of the visible church, that denies the rights of man and the common brotherhood of humanity, by defending slavery and folding to its bosom slave-sellers, slave-buyers, and slaveholders."

"VII. The total abolition of the vast system of American slavery to be accepted as the providential mission and duty of the American clergy and the American churches of this generation."

These constitute "THE PLAN" which "the extreme anti-slavery men" of the Church Anti-Slavery Society have now adopted in dealing with the sin of slaveholding,—the plan which Rev. Albert Barnes recommended when he said, at the close of his admirable volume on slavery; * "Let every religious denomination, detach itself from all connexion with slavery, and utter a calm and deliberate voice to the world, and the work will be done. There is no power out of the church that could sustain slavery an hour, if it were not sustained in it."

The Church Anti-Slavery Society has its origin in a deep conviction of the truth expressed in this last sentence from the work of a great light of the N. S. Presbyterian Church who, with his commanding position and influence, if he had been as forcible and persistent in action as he is weighty and pregnant in expression would (there can be little doubt) have carried with him, to the utter proscribing of slavery, the larger part of the N. S. Presbyterian Church; so that that entire body would now have been acting under the rule that makes slaveholding a bar to communion.

II. The true mission of the Church Anti-Slavery Society may be said to be four-fold:

First, To establish the position of the *inherent* sinfulness of slavery—not because its sinfulness is added to, or intensified by, the qualifying term *inherent*, but because leading divines in our country have asserted the contrary, viz., that slavery is not sin in itself, not *malum in se*, as a reason for not touching the sin in the church.

Second, To carry into practical operation, as a Christian duty, the principle of non-communion with slaveholders and disfellowship, thereby, with the sin of slaveholding.

Third, To vindicate the Christian Scriptures from any warrant or allowance of chattel slavery.

* Though there are many excellent things in the volume of Mr. BARNES, we cannot agree with our correspondent, in pronouncing it as a whole, "excellent." Its concessions are fatal to its argument, inasmuch that bro. JOHN G. FEE, was compelled to declare that he thought that its influence on slaveholders in Kentucky, (coming from an anti-slavery man,) would be worse than that of the work of PROF. HEDGE of Princeton, in open defence of slavery.—EDITOR OF PRINCIPIA.

Fourth, To deliver our American Christianity from the stigma that has come upon it as a slaveholding Christianity, by the complicity of American Churches with American slavery.

Does this method of accomplishing the Mission of the Church Anti-Slavery Society against slavery constitute "almost precisely what the N. S. Presbyterian Church has done in dealing with slavery?" viz, to declare slaveholding a bar to Christian fellowship, and to the communion of New School Presbyterian Churches?

Let us answer, by referring to recent facts shedding light upon the relation of the N. S. Presbyterian Church to slavery, and to the position of non-fellowship with slaveholders, which is assumed by the Church Anti-Slavery Society to be the duty of the American churches and the American clergy of this generation.

There was presented last May to the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, (N.S.) at Wilmington, a very candid, courteous, and earnest overture from the Synod of the Free Presbyterian Church, embracing one hundred churches and fifty ministers, upon the subject of making a declaratory announcement that slaveholding should be a bar to Christian communion in the New School branch of the Presbyterian Church. The main object of this overture was declared to be "to direct attention to the propriety of carrying out into practice the principle of the Testimony of 1818, and declaring to the world that those who practice the sin of slaveholding therein defined, cannot be admitted to the membership of the Presbyterian Church."

This the memorialists earnestly urged, as being not only concerned in having the way prepared for an organic union between their body and that which they addressed, but, in the language of the memorial itself, because they were "especially desirous that a denomination so large and influential as that represented by the General Assembly, shall, by its unequivocal position on the subject, show to the American people that Christianity, by your understanding and practice of it, is now, as it has always been, opposed to the doctrine that man can hold property in man. The performance of this great duty at this time, would tend greatly to shut down the flood-gates of one of the most dangerous forms of infidelity which the world has ever seen,—an infidelity which humane and liberty-loving men naturally fall into, when they see the visible church in league with a system of oppression which their consciences and common sense condemn."

The overture furthermore declared, that "if slavery be the crime which the Testimonies of the General Assembly declare it to be, we are bound, as we feel concerned for the salvation of the slaveholding member, and recollect that a holy and consistent life must be the precursor of his salvation, to rebuke him as a brother, and not suffer sin upon him. We know of no rebuke that could be given to an erring brother so powerful, so scriptural, and so well adapted to accomplish his reformation, as the refusal of Christian fellowship, by a holy and consistent church. A striking proof and illustration of this we have in the effect of the disciplinary process against slaveholding by the Reformed Presbyterian and Associate Presbyterian Churches some years ago, when, at great pecuniary sacrifices, nearly all the slaveholding members of those bodies respectively, rather than forfeit the Christian fellowship of their brethren, as well as from a sense of duty, broke every yoke, and set every oppressed one free."

What, now, was the reception of and action upon this able overture, entrusted to Rev. Arthur B. Bradford, and by him presented to the New School General Assembly at Wilmington, in the month of May last? In the first place it was never read to that body, but, after being delivered was given, without reading and without explanation, into the hands of a special committee, thus making it impossible for the Assembly, as such, to know any thing at all of the contents of the paper upon which they were afterwards called to act. 2d. The attention of the Assembly was not called to this important document by the special committee until the day before its adjournment, when a disposition of it was recommended by the committee, and adopted without reading or debate, before the Assembly, to this effect, namely, that their position on the subject of slavery had been already fully declared, and was satisfactory and conclusive; but that a committee be chosen to confer with the

Synod from which the overture proceeded, and report to the next General Assembly.

That Synod of the Free Presbyterian Church, at its annual meeting in Darlington, Pa., in October last, after hearing the report of its own delegate who had been intrusted with their overture, and from one of the General Assembly's special committee of conference, took the following action:

"Whereas, This Synod was induced to hope, by representations from various sources, that the Presbyterian Church (New School) had purged itself from the sin of slaveholding, and to send an overture to that body, proposing an organic union upon the condition of an entire purgation from that sin; and

"Whereas, The body above mentioned has answered our overture by referring us to their past testimony, as sufficiently explanatory of their present position; and

"Whereas, Under that past testimony slaveholding has continued, and does still continue to exist in that body, and slaveholders remain as they always have remained, undisciplined, thus leaving us without any assurance that it may not be continued for an indefinite period to come; and

"Whereas, The Synod of Missouri, which had formerly separated itself from the New School Assembly, has returned to that body without putting away the sin of slaveholding, existing in its churches; therefore

"1. Resolved, That we regret to say that we see in the present position of the General Assembly (New School) nothing to call for a continuance of our correspondence with that body.

"2. Resolved, That the General Assembly be respectfully referred to our past testimony as sufficiently explanatory of the basis upon which we can form an organic union with that body.

"3. Resolved, That whenever the General Assembly shall be ready to declare its adherence to the principles which we have avowed in our published testimony, and its determination to carry those principles into effective practice, we hold ourselves ready, most cordially, to renew a correspondence in reference to union, believing that no other union would be 'the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace.'

"4. Resolved, That we deeply regret the necessity which compels us to this action, and hope and pray that the time may speedily come when there shall be nothing tolerated in the communion of the professed church of the Lord Jesus that shall be a bar to the communion of his people with one another."

Whoever has carefully perused the foregoing, can now answer for himself whether the plan proposed by the Church Anti-Slavery Society, and urged upon the General Assembly at Wilmington by the overture from the Free Presbyterian Church, "be almost precisely what the New School Presbyterian Church has done, in dealing with slavery."

It were a "consummation most devoutly to be wished" by christian abolitionists; but so far from being yet accomplished, the late claim for the N. S. Presbyterian Church, as having already done what "the most extreme anti-slavery men propose," is of a piece with the recent claim of the distinguished Star correspondent of the New York Independent for the American Board, as having at "last reached a ground of the most positive and substantial anti-slavery truth," when the following was the practical carrying out of that "positive and substantial anti-slavery truth," by one of the venerable missionaries in the Choctaw nation, who put his name to the famous Goodwater Agreement, which constitutes Mr Beecher's alleged "ground of the most positive and substantial anti-slavery truth." A slaveholding convert among the Choctaws, once came to Rev. Mr. Kingsbury and said to him, that he felt the inconsistency between holding slaves and belonging to the church, and asked what he should do. That venerable missionary pastor, supposed, by many of the churches to be, in good faith, instructing the converts in regard to "the system of slavery," which the Board had declared contrary to the principles of the gospel, so that they should abandon it, immediately handed the conscience-stricken convert a tract entitled, "An Argument for the Divine right of Slavery."

That tract may charitably be supposed to have contained the "positive and substantial anti-slavery truth" of the Goodwater Agreement, which says, among other things, "When slaveholding is made unavoidable by the laws of the State; the obligations of guardianship, or the demands of humani-

ty, it is not to be deemed an offence against the rule of Christianity." Perhaps this was the kind of slaveholding, thus protected by the shield of the American Board in the Goodwater Agreement, which was argued for, in the missionary's tract on "The Divine Right of Slavery," and by him handed to the too sensitive Choctaw convert, as a missionary's mode of carrying out the principles of the Board on the subject of slavery.

Is it, then, to be deemed a principle of the American Board, that the iniquitous laws of a State forbidding emancipation, or the mistaken obligations of guardianships, or the alleged demands of humanity, can justify slaveholding, so as to make it "no offense against the rule of Christianity?" Many would like to know, and to hear "one having authority" answer. Meanwhile, as the changes are being rung in some quarters (from which something better might be expected) upon "the malignant element of abolitionism which calls for the refusal of fellowship in the churches to slaveholders, and loudly assumes pre-eminence in fidelity upon the subject of slavery," it were natural to ask, if there be nothing "malignant" in the attitude of hostility which is taking, and the slander which is circulated against honest Christian abolitionists?

FROM THE SANDWICH ISLANDS.

NUMBER II.

MAKAWAO, January 30, 1860.

DEAR BROTHER GOODELL:—Early this morning I met a portion of my people at the house of God on this last Monday of the month. I pointed them to the words of Paul, "Remember them who are in bonds as bound with them," and we tried to pray in the spirit of this precept, in behalf of the enslaved of our country and elsewhere. Still I greatly fear that there are few who do so. The precept implies a great deal. John Brown who has lately been sacrificed a victim to the demon of slavery, seems to have acted in accordance with the spirit of the precept. He might have been mistaken in his views of duty; but he seems to have acted conscientiously. He put his life in his hands, for the deliverance of the oppressed. His soul in their souls' stead. And so far as appears, he did so, coolly, and without the least hesitation. So far as appears, he did not repent his act a single moment. He died a martyr to his principles. His was "remembering those in bonds as bound with them" indeed, not merely in word and in tongue. If there was not something here, analogous to the dying compassion of Jesus of Nazareth, who, as the great and good Watts tells us—

"When the Savior knew

The price of pardon was his blood,
His pity ne'er withdrew."

then I mistake the nature of Christian benevolence. Of course, many will be shocked, offended, indignant at the allusion to our Lord, in speaking of John Brown. This however is of little consequence. If He, the Saviour of dying men, saw in Brown a redeemed sinner, He will not be shocked or offended at the allusion. In His fear I make it. If Nathan Hale who died on the gallows is revered by every patriot of our country, is regarded as a christian martyr, shall we, christian abolitionists cease to revere the memory of John Brown? Hale perished as a spy in behalf of his country, while seeking relief from a light taxation, assuming an attitude of rebellion to the English government. Brown perished while seeking relief for his fellow men, from an oppression which, compared with that under which our father's groaned, was as the everlasting hills to the most minute pebble of which they are composed. Had Washington failed in the contest with the mother country, no one perhaps doubts that he and John Hancock and Samuel Adams and others of like mind would have been hanged. Had they thus perished, should we have the less honored them? Nathan Hale failed. Is he not honored? John Brown failed. Shall we not honor him for his intentions—for his principles? I shall, for one, be assured. And I am greatly mistaken if the time will not come when multitudes will honor him. His name, his deeds, will live in the remembrance of his countrymen when the names of slaveholders and their apologists, will rot. If Brown, misguided tho' he might have been. I say, if Brown was influenced by a desire to relieve the suffering brethren of Christ, will He not say to those men who, in the haste of cowardly fear, hustled him to the Court room, and thence to the gallows. "Inas-

much as ye did it to one of the least of these, my brethren, ye did it unto me?"

"The day will declare it." We shall all know.
Yours, with much regard,

J. S. GREEN.

FROM GERRIT SMITH.

WILLIAM GOODELL—Dear Sir: My father, Gerrit Smith, has read with great pleasure, your comments on the speech of Mr. Curry of Alabama. He hopes, however, that you will not let abolitionists overrate the importance of the Constitutional question. Great as is that question, the unspeakably greater one is: Can property in man be a natural right? That is the fundamental question for Mr. Curry to discuss with Abolitionists.

Property does not grow out of Constitutions. But Constitutions grow out of property. Their only use is to protect persons and property. They no more create property than persons. Far better is it to say, that laws are the creature of property, than that property is the creature of laws. Laws regulate but they cannot create property.

The Federal Constitution rightly interpreted is against all Slavery. But were there parts of it in favor of Slavery—that is, in favor of regarding man as property—they would be void, if Slavery is not a natural right. If it is, such a right, then is murder also. For what parent would not rather have his child murdered than enslaved? And who is there that would refuse to say that Constitutional words, in favor of murder are void?

Suppose Mr. Curry should succeed in proving that there are parts of the Constitution in favor of Slavery—he would but prove thereby, not that Slavery is right, but that parts of the Constitution are wrong, and so wrong as to be absolutely null and void.

Your friend,

ELIZABETH SMITH MILLER.

Peterboro' April 4, 1860

REMARKS.—Mr. Smith's view is correct and important. We trust we shall not have been understood as placing the Constitutional question above the moral. We devote far more time and space to the latter than to the former. Our object in reviewing MR. CURRY was to say to him what Congressmen carefully omit saying. There was less danger that they would concede the moral right of Slavery; though, it must be confessed that they fail to proclaim slavery illegal on account of its immorality. Mr. Smith's additional review is timely.—EDITOR.

One of the Richmond papers takes credit to Virginia for possessing a "stoical" population. It appears that when the Clay statue was unveiled, the people of Richmond regarded that work of art with "apathy." Our Richmond cotemporary considers that fact a parallel to the reception of a certain distinguished actress, who tried her prettiest to get up some degree of enthusiasm in a Virginia audience, and afterwards deplored, to the editor, her want of success, in that little endeavor. Artists of all ranks, according to these frank admissions of the chivalry of the Old Dominion, have a hard time of it, in that region. The only "artist" who succeeded in awakening the Virginia mind from the apathy into which it has sunk, was old John Brown. He did the business very effectually.—N. Y. Times.

A box was forwarded from Nashville, Tenn., by Adams' Express, to the care of one Levi Coffin, Cincinnati. On reaching Seymour, Ind., the box happened to be handled rather roughly, which started the lid, and out popped the woolly head of an African, blacker than an ace of spades, or a coal scuttle, his eyes shining with an excess of terror, like diamonds set in ebony. He was taken from Seymour to Louisville, and there lodged in jail, to await the requisition of his proprietor. It is not often that the underground railroad thus misses its connections.—Exchange.

The Southern millenium has dawned. Messrs. John Fraser & Co., shippers, of Charleston, make public announcement that a regular line of packets, and "fast-sailing packets they are, will begin immediately to make stated trips between that port and Liverpool. The Susan Owens will sail from Liverpool June 5, and the Norton from Charleston Aug. 10. Money not so much an object as the establishment of direct trade: and freight carried for next to nothing." New-York merchants will please take notice.—Times.

The Principia.

NEW-YORK, SATURDAY, APRIL 28, 1860.

C. M. CLAY versus the "RADICALS."

We give our readers another Letter of Mr. Clay.

WHITE HALL, Ky., April 12.

To the Editors of the Cincinnati Gazette:

Rev. JOHN G. FEE is an exile: it would be ungenerous in me to add the least additional pain to what he must already suffer in the thought that his indiscretion may be possibly the cause. But any one reading his letter of the 9th will see that I exactly characterize the substance of his belief in a few words in my Appeal. My suggestion that the Radicals should not be molested, but made responsible only to the laws, was not made in a spirit of enmity, but of sympathy. Judge Daniel Breck, late of the Supreme Court of Kentucky, advocated the same policy—all now agree that it would have been best for the honor and safety of the State of Kentucky, and also for the exiles.

Mr. FEE, erroneously thinking that I could have saved him from his fate, naturally feels somewhat sore against me. That will wear off, after awhile. I have always acquitted him of a desire for insubordination and insurrection among slaves, but then most of his party have such desire. The *Principia*, the New-York organ, cannot find words severe enough to denounce me, because I oppose servile insurrection?

I foresaw, years ago, that Mr. Fee would inevitably be surrounded at last by such men, and that we would all be precipitated into a common ruin, unless we cut loose from them. It was in no spirit of unkindness, then, when I felt it my highest duty to myself, my friends and my country to "denounce" the whole doctrine. I regret that my old comrade should have thought it his duty to attempt to make out a case of inconsistency against me. The only change of opinion I recollect since youth, upon the slavery question, is the one confessed in my Frankfort speech—that Congress had no power to establish slavery—the old Free Soil doctrine, which was incorporated into the Republican platform of 1856. Judge Curtis' argument in the Dred Scott Case convinced me of my error, which I at once avowed to the public. My lecture before the M. E. Church in Philadelphia was simply a moral argument before Christians, to refute the idea that slavery was consistent with true religion. I need not say to the intelligent reader that it does not at all conflict with the duty, or any assertion of the duty, on my part, to obey "the powers that be."

My argument upon the doctrine, "once free, always free," to which Mr. Fee alludes, was based upon the fifth amendment to the United States Constitution, my error in which I have already admitted. Mr. Fee mistakes my argument upon the Fugitive Slave bill. I said "I was opposed to it, not only upon natural right, but because I deemed it, with Daniel Webster, unconstitutional," the power to return fugitive slaves being a power belonging to the States only. But as there has been great difference of opinion among Republicans upon that point, I would not have the Chicago Convention make it a party test, as questions of far greater moment might be thereby jeopardized.

Mr. Fee, in trying to make me out as much a "radical" as himself, I think, therefore, fails utterly; but I trust I shall not lose his respect on that account. The same thing has been the burden of several long articles in the *Principia*, the organ of the party. The editor does not attempt to avoid the method I have used in summing up the doctrine that "there is no law for Slavery," but attempts to prove me to have uttered the same sentiment at Chicago, on the 4th of July, 1854. The statement is false. My speech was never corrected by me; but it is preserved accurately enough to refute that calumny. My argument was that laws could not restrain its tyranny—not that it lacked legal sanction. My words are, "Negro Slavery is as great and absolute a despotism as the world has seen. The idea of making laws to regulate such an institution is all humbug." Here I alluded to both the ability of the masters to evade the laws controlling his action towards the slave, and the impossibility of the people maintaining their legal rights where Slavery exists—as I have reason now painfully to see daily illustrated.

With regard to the unfortunate fate of those who have followed Mr. Fee into exile, I have nothing to say, except that I have no reproaches for any one. I feel that at great sacrifice of all earthly considerations for all the prime of life, I have unselfishly devoted myself to the good of mankind, without distinction of color or race, in maintaining the great principles which I think lie at the basis of all true liberty and civilization; the will was my own; the end is with God.

C. M. CLAY.

REMARKS.

The Letter of Mr. FEE, to which Mr. CLAY alludes, must be one which, we think, we have not seen; and will thank any one for a copy of it. He is doubtless able to answer for himself. We shall make some miscellaneous remarks, and reply to what Mr. Clay says of THE PRINCIPIA.

1. In the first place, if anybody has misrepresented Mr. Clay, we know not who is guilty of it, or how it has been done. THE PRINCIPIA has published whatever has come to hand, from his pen, or speeches, which could serve to define his position. If Mr. Clay suffers, at all, in the eyes of his old anti-slavery friends, it is solely on account of what he says of himself, and of the course he has pursued.

2. The above Letter, so far from disproving what the "Radicals," including THE PRINCIPIA, have alleged, or even of contradicting their statements, repeats them over again, and in nearly the same words he used before. He did not approve the removal of Mr. Fee and the Radicals of Kentucky, from their native State by mob violence, but he did suggest the propriety of doing it, by statutory enactments for the purpose. This is precisely what he has been represented by us as doing. Our views of the character of his position and doings, as thus stated by himself, do indeed, differ widely from his own. But for that difference of opinion, and in the free expression of it, we shall hope be tolerated, in the free State of New York, until Mr. Clay and those who think with him, concerning the limitations of the right of free speech, shall obtain Federal Power. Not even the pro-slavery Democracy have yet gone so far, in this region, as to threaten putting down "the Radicals" and banishing them from their native States, by legislative enactments. Or, at least, nothing of the kind has been hinted at since about the years 1836-7. In common with other "Radicals" whether in Kentucky or elsewhere, we ought, perhaps, to tender our grateful acknowledgments to Mr. Clay for his kindness and "sympathy"—not "enmity"—in proposing to rescue us from the violence of mobs, by the substitution of persecuting Statutes. His professions may be truthful and sincere, for the Judges who sentenced John Bunyan to imprisonment, are said to have sympathized with him, and to have labored with him to obtain from him such concessions as should mitigate the sentence, or win the Royal clemency, for his release. But we have, somehow imbibed the idea of demanding a recognition of our rights, instead of asking for "sympathy."

3. Mr. Clay utterly fails of making a truthful statement when he says:

"THE PRINCIPIA, the New York organ, cannot find words severe enough to denounce me, because I oppose servile insurrection."

Our readers know that this is wholly without foundation. We have never advocated insurrection, nor denounced any one for opposing it. We have uniformly said that the ballot-box, not the cartridge-box, is the true weapon.

Why does Mr. Clay shrink from meeting us, on the true issue, as we presented it?

Have "the Radical abolitionists, who hold that there is no law for slavery" an inalienable right to freedom of speech and of the press, for the propagation of their opinions? a right, as sacred as that of Mr. Clay, to propagate his? This is what we have affirmed; but this Mr. Clay has repeatedly denied, and still continues to deny, boasting the wisdom and good policy of so doing, because he could in no other way, propitiate the pro-slavery Democratic mobs, so as to enjoy the exercise of his own rights! He must needs help the oligarchy take away the rights of Abolitionists in order to secure his own rights and the rights of Republicans! Is this his championship of freedom in Kentucky, against the slaveholders?

We have not censured Mr. Clay because he did not take up arms to prevent the expulsion, by mob violence, of his old friend JOHN G. FEE and his associates. That was a matter at his own personal discretion, of course. What we did and do arraign him for, at the bar of public opinion is—that, while threatening to fight with deadly weapons, in defence of his own right of free speech, he went out of his way, to assail, gratuitously, Mr. Fee and the Radical Abolitionists, as deserving legislative proscription for exercising their freedom of speech, which was as sacred as his own.

Will Mr. Clay meet us on that question? Will he give a reason why the rights of one native Kentuckian in Kentucky, to free speech, is not as inviolable as another?

He now accuses them of being insurrectionists, and intimates that this fact furnished a reason for their legislative proscription. This is a new discovery of his, and seems evidently resorted to, for the purpose of shifting the issue. His former charge against them was, simply that they "were Radical Abolitionists and held that there was no law for

Slavery." He does not accuse Mr. Fee of desiring insurrection, but affirms that "his party have such desire." Where is his proof? He pretends to find proof in "THE PRINCIPIA" the "New York organ" for which no man in Kentucky is responsible, and which is "the organ" of no one but the Editor, Publisher and Proprietor—"THE PRINCIPIA" which no more desires insurrection than does Mr. Fee. Why does he not specify which of the exiles were insurrectionists, if he knows of any? Was it Rev. J. S. Davis? Was it Rev. Mr. Rogers? Was it Mr. John G. Hanson? Will Mr. Clay specify whom he accuses? Would it comport with the character which he has, himself, given them?

Mr. Clay denies that he said, at Chicago, that there was no law for slavery. Mr. Clay's memory of this, differs from that of, at least one, at our elbow, who heard him. This point, however, we shall not debate. There has been some mistake. But what if he should have said so. Would it have been insurrectionary? In this last letter of his, before us, he admits that he said in his Chicago speech, that "laws could not restrain the tyranny" of slavery. What is this but saying that slavery is lawless? And can lawlessness have "legal sanction?" He admits that he said, "Negro slavery is as great and absolute a despotism, as the world has seen." And pray, what does Mr. Clay understand a despotism to be, but, (as Webster defines it) "Absolute power, authority, unlimited and uncontrolled by men, constitution or laws?" Can there be law for that which bids defiance to all law, and exists only in its absence? He admits that he said, "The idea of making laws to regulate such an institution is all humbug." Can he deny, then, that the idea of creating by law an "institution" which law cannot even "regulate" is "a humbug?" For declaring it "a humbug," are Radical Abolitionists to be denounced as insurrectionists, and banished from their native Kentucky, at the instigation of the Kentucky orator at Chicago?

We tell Cassius M. Clay, honestly, earnestly, truthfully, that it is all "humbug" for him or for any man to attempt riding two hobbies, at one and the same time. If he means to go against slavery, let him cease talking of a "legal sanction" for slavery. If he sees clearly that "the idea of making laws to regulate slavery is all humbug" let him cut himself loose from the "humbug" of pretending to "regulate" it by limitation.

Mr. Calhoun, Judge Porter, Judge Mathews, Senator Mason, Mr. Curry—nay, every live advocate of slavery South of Mason and Dixon's line, with united voice, proclaim the undeniable historical and geographical fact that not one of our existing slave States ever had, or now has, the shadow or figment of a statute law creating or establishing slavery. All the jurists of the world who recognize law for slavery, at all, put it on the foundation of some local, positive, municipal, statute law. The Republican platform, upon which Mr. Clay himself stands, is built upon this very foundation; so that, putting the two ideas together, it is proved that in none of our slave States is there any "legal sanction" for slavery. Add to this, the declarations of Mr. Clay, at Chicago, above quoted, particularly that "the idea of making laws to regulate such an institution is all humbug," and we demand to be told what "humbug" can exceed that of Mr. Clay's pretense of a "legal sanction" for slavery? Beyond all this, the great writers of common law, Coke, Fortescue, Littleton, Blackstone, &c., deny that slavery, which they declare to be a violation of natural law, can be made legal by any decrees or statutes whatever.

But Mr. Clay has become convinced by JUDGE CURTIS that the authority of Civil Government to protect its subjects from slavery involves the authority to sanction their enslavement, so that the legislature of Kentucky, if it pleases, can authorize the enslavement of Mr. Clay, and give to it "legal sanction." If it be true that, as Mr. Clay insinuates, there are anti-slavery men in Kentucky, who are becoming insurrectionary, is it difficult to perceive in what school, and by what doctrines this effect is being produced?

And who is Cassius M. Clay that he should proscrib Abolitionists for being insurrectionary? Has he not distinctly threatened or predicted a civil war, if his own liberty of free speech is not respected? And has he not claimed that in such a contest, his cause is the cause of the whole country, thus inviting northern interference by force, to protect human freedom in Kentucky? What could Radical Abolitionists, what could

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the Kentucky exiles, what could even John Brown himself have demanded, more?

And why not, for themselves, and for the enslaved, as properly, as for Cassius M. Clay? If he has, indeed, "unselfishly devoted himself to the good of mankind, without distinction of race or color, at a great sacrifice of all earthly considerations" he will see and feel the justice of these strictures, and recant manfully, and with penitence, his unfounded and injurious aspersions of Abolitionists.

THE PAPAL BULL.—It is not often, in these later ages, that Protestant eyes in this Western hemisphere, get sight of a living, thundering Papal bull, fresh from Rome, excommunicating an European Sovereign for the sin of disobedience to papal commands. The time has been, when the very prospect of such a terrible infliction, would cause any monarch in Europe to tremble on his throne, for the good reason that the Pope's fiat could absolve the subjects of any monarch from his allegiance to his King, and even oblige him to take up arms against him. Ideas govern mankind, and so long as the idea of papal authority, as paramount to kingly authority, was in the ascendant, unquestioned, and in full sway, no civil or military power on earth could stand against it. The papal bull is less formidable now, simply because the idea on which it reposes, and to which it appeals, is in a condition of decay and decrepitude. Nevertheless, the idea remains, though in feebleness, and while it remains, it will be made available to the full amount of the remaining faith in the idea. Our readers will find, in another column, the latest specimen of such an excommunicating papal bull. It will repay perusal and study. The use made in it, of the text (Romans xiii.)—perverted, absurd, and impious as it is, reveals the source whence originate the similar uses made of the same text, by the so-called Protestant Clergy who have undertaken to uphold and sanctify a more terrible and execrable despotism than even that of the Pope. "Let every soul be subject to the higher powers" says the Pope, meaning himself! "Let every soul be subject to the powers" says the pro slavery D. D. meaning the slaveholders! "Let every soul be subject to the higher powers" says the true christian teacher, meaning the powers that are "a terror, not to good works, but to the evil."

PREMIUM TRACT. "Is slavery sanctioned by the Bible?"—By ISAAC ALLEN, Oberlin, Ohio.—Published by the American Tract Society, Boston.

"This Tract received the premium of \$100 offered by the Church Anti-Slavery Society, for the best Tract on the teachings of the Bible respecting slavery."—We have just received this Tract, and read it with much pleasure until we reached the 24th page, where, and again on the 24th, we met with views which we were not expecting to find, and could not approve. The old notion is introduced, that the Apostles avoided attacking the system directly, lest it should be the cause of civil commotion and persecution,—not directly prohibiting it," &c.—"not by direct emancipatory decrees,"—but "by gradually restricting the master's power and protecting the slave, by girdling the poison tree, till it withered and fell," &c.

We cannot but hope that the publication of these views by the Committee, was an oversight, and that they will withdraw their approval of them, and procure the omission of them in future editions. We have not room for further extracts or comments this week.

SHAMELESSNESS.—It is amusing and yet painful to notice how universally it is taken for granted, that the only question in respect to "candidates" and "platforms" is, "Which will command the greatest number of votes?" Political orators and editors seem all unconscious that they are thus incessantly proclaiming to the voters, that all they are after, is the offices! Is there to be no sense of decency or of shame left? See the political papers, of all parties, for illustrations.

HENRY A. WISE, who, while Governor of Virginia, undertook to ride into the Presidency by the John Brown excitement, pretending that he had documentary evidence of a wide-spread conspiracy of a treasonable nature, in the free States, but who never found it convenient to produce that evidence to the public, has lost the confidence of his party, even in his own State, and withdraws his name from the Presidential contest, a lesson to pro-slavery demagogues.

News of the Day.

Of general news there is a limited supply in the market, this week. All eyes are turned to Charleston to see,

What the Democratic Convention at Charleston are doing.

Accounts are exceedingly conflicting. Up to the time of our present writing, the final result remains altogether uncertain. The special Reporter of the *Tribune*, an anti-Douglas man, represents the prospects of Douglas as declining. Among the rumored projects for harmonizing the discordant elements, is that of allowing the Southern fire-eaters to dictate the platform, and the Southern wing to select the Candidate. The nominations of Douglas upon the very platform of principles and measures he has been contending against, would be an instructive exhibition, showing to what depths of absurdity and hypocrisy politicians of that class, can descend to secure for themselves the offices. If Douglas be nominated on a platform demanding a Federal Slave Code for the Territories, and endorsing the Dred Scott decision, we do not see what prospect he could have, of drawing off votes from the squatter sovereignty Republicans, or even of retaining those of honest Anti-Lecompton Democrats. But it is useless to speculate upon the uncertain contingency of such an event. We shall learn soon.

CALEB CUSHING is President of the Convention. Among the Vice Presidents are, New York, Erastus Corning and J. Edward Coop; Maryland, W. D. Bowie and B. F. Lowe; Pennsylvania, Thomas Cunningham and F. Van Zandt.

It is generally admitted that the Douglas men are a decided majority of the Convention, and are abundantly able to carry their point, if they will stand firm. The question is, whether the crack of the driver's whip will not, as usual, bring them to terms.

There are many elements of discord and confusion in the Convention—contested seats—&c., &c. We hope to have something further before sending our paper to press.

THURSDAY, A. M.

The morning's announcement is that the Committee, on the Resolutions has rejected the Cincinnati platform. The Wood Delegates from New York are excluded, and also the Lecompton delegation from Illinois. This indicates a majority of Douglas men in the Convention and secures that majority during its sittings. One of the delegates from Vermont, Ex Gov. Robinson, died suddenly of apoplexy.

The special dispatch to the *N. Y. Times* says:

"The Platform Committee are in trouble. They went to please all sides, but they cannot do it. Trouble in the camp is certain, unless they embody the Slave code, and defeat is certain in November, if they do."

NEWSPAPER R. R. EXPRESS. The *N. Y. Daily morning papers*, are now delivered in Albany and Troy, by breakfast time—as early as they are delivered in *N. York City*. This is done by a Newspaper Express Train, employed for the purpose. *The Times* says:

"The number of newspapers taken into the interior by this train, has steadily increased, until now not far from 15,000 copies of the *Times*, *Tribune* and *Herald* are taken everyday, and before the summer is over, this number will be more than doubled."

PROGRESS OF RAILROAD POLITICS.—Everybody knows that the State of New Jersey—its Legislature, its politics, and everything else—is under the complete control of the railroads; and we are fast coming to the same thing in this State. The last Legislature was essentially a railroad Legislature. Dean Richmond, Erastus Corning, and George Law managed everything—the city railroads, and the roads of the interior of the State—with Thurlow Weed whispering into the ears of each, like Satan into those of our first parents, when they were taking their first nap.—*N. Y. Herald*.

We are afraid that *The Herald* speaks the truth, in this instance.

GAMBLING AND SUICIDE ON THE SOUND.—At the morning prayer meeting in the Old South Chapel, says the *Boston Journal* of the 20th inst., a gentleman made a statement of a sad case of gambling and suicide on board the steamer Empire State, last night. A party of men who appeared to be professional gamblers were playing cards in the cabin,

and urging the bystanders to bet upon the cards. They induced one gentleman, who had been apparently interested in the game, to put down forty dollars, and by one turn of the cards it was swept into the gambler's pocket. The loser appeared to be much agitated, and was seen soon after to go out upon the deck, and in a few moments afterward a man who was supposed to be him jumped overboard and was lost. His name was not known. It is supposed that the chagrin and mortification which filled his mind, when he came to reflect how foolishly he had lost his money, led him to commit the act. The occurrence should warn all honest men not to put themselves in the power of the sharpers who infest the lines of public travel.

The Pro-Slavery Rule in Wisconsin.

There are various rumors afloat with reference to the treatment of S. M. Booth, now in prison in the Custom House in the hands of the U. S. officials. Many of those rumors are exaggerations, but the facts of the case are, he is treated with more harshness and severity than is in any wise justifiable. For three days, last week, the light was excluded from his room by the closing and fastening of the heavy iron shutters—he is permitted only such papers as the Marshal sanctions, his friends are generally excluded from visiting him, and his wife is not permitted to enter his room at all.

These matters we suppose, are in the discretion of the Marshal, and he is responsible for them. From the first, the Marshal has neglected no precaution for Booth's safety. He has his whole department from floor to garret, bristling with guns, pistols, cutlasses, &c. Guards occupy the stairs, the landings, the halls, the rooms, and every available spot. An officer of ordinary discretion and ordinary courage would be satisfied with such precautions, without finding it necessary to restrict the prisoner's privileges inside of his prison, a particle. Yet the Marshal, for matter offensive to himself in the Free Democrat, descends to the petty persecution of denying the prisoner a sight of it. He excludes the prisoners wife, because she has communicated between him and the outer world, and he excludes the prisoner's friends generally, because, apparently, it would be some satisfaction or consolation for the prisoner to see them. He shuts him in a dungeon, because the prisoner talks out of the window, or because he fears an attempt at rescue, or for some other insufficient and unsatisfactory reason; and yesterday "You lie!" was the response this great functionary, wielding the whole power of the United States made to the simple assertion of his prisoner that he had not had a certain newspaper.

Marshal Lewis may be a fit person to represent the slavery principle which has Booth incarcerated, but he is a very poor and very unfit person to be intrusted with the grave responsibilities which this matter involves. The fugitive slave law, in its mildest form is about as much as the people of this latitude and the north generally, can stand. But so administered they would probably stand it, peaceably and patiently, and wait for such remedies as the ballot box would afford. With however, the addition of these unnecessary persecutions, proceeding from an incompetent and unfit officer, it is somewhat of a question how long their patience will hold out. One thing is certain. If any trouble does arise in this matter, the fault will be there, and it would be well for the friends of the officer to take him in charge and warn him in time.—*Wis. Free Democrat*.

The Times and prospect in Iowa.

From the Mount Vernon (Iowa.) Atlas.

Our State is slowly, but surely, emerging from her difficulties and troubles. She first suffered greatly from the bursting of the great bubble of '56—then again by two almost total crop failures, and last year by a partial failure of the wheat crop. But with that elasticity only exhibited in young and vigorous communities, she is now rapidly recovering from the shock, and repairing disasters. When we reflect upon the extent of the calamity of '57, reducing town property one-half to one-quarter what it was before held at—and wild lands and improved farms in nearly the same proportion—when we reflect that our crop failures have been almost a total loss of the Corn, Wheat and Oat crops for two successive years—when we take all these into the account, and consider how we had tied ourselves up in a net-work of debt, in our grasping after sudden wealth, during the flush

times, it is really wonderful that we are so soon beginning to emerge from the wreck. The wealth now created is from productive industry. The money flowing into the State is not from sales of corner lots in paper towns—is not brought by emigrants—but comes into the State from sales of grain, cattle, hogs, hay, butter, eggs, seeds, etc., etc. A new and entirely different state of affairs has been inaugurated. Instead of finding its way into circulation through the hands of speculators, landlords, etc., money is now disbursed by farmers and stock-raisers. The money flows directly into their coffers, and from them into the channels of business. The wealth of the State is in the soil, and in the hands of the men who cultivate it.—The solid minded men will soon be the farmers, who are now paying off debts, canceling mortgages, and if favored with good crops will, next year, commence needed improvements, erecting barns, sheds, fences, houses, etc. Farming lands will advance in price, as they ought, and farms that now go a begging at \$2,000 will be quick and of ready sale at double this sum in the next three years.

Arrest of a Wealthy Counterfeiter.

A MAGISTRATE AT THE HEAD OF A GANG OF COUNTERFEITERS.
[From the Cleveland (Ohio) Herald April 19.]

Deputy Marshal Cable, of Jefferson county, O., came up this morning on the Cleveland and Pittsburg train, having in charge Joseph L. Ball, indicted at the present term of the United States Court for making and passing counterfeit coin. The arrest was made yesterday, at the residence of the prisoner in Newburg, Jefferson county.

The arrest was one of the most important that has been made for some time. Ball is an old man—sixty years of age, and is reputed to be wealthy. He has a fine house and large farm, and ranks among the substantial men of Jefferson county. For a long time he has been suspected of being connected with an extensive gang of counterfeiters, but his position and power in the neighborhood were such that no one dared give information against him. Ball is a magistrate, and his position was used to shelter the counterfeiters, and oppressed any one that was suspected of interfering with their operations. Several instances have been brought before him, and either released at once, in defiance of law and evidence, or sentenced in such a manner that they escaped by a legal quibble. In one instance, a notorious counterfeiter was brought before him, and the circumstances were such that a committal of the accused was imperative. The man was accordingly committed, but after the examination Ball secretly advised the prisoner to consult a lawyer who was cognizant of the proceedings of the gang, and have him sue out a writ of habeas corpus, on the ground of a legal defect in the commitment paper. The writ was accordingly sued out, and a legal defect having purposely been made in the commitment, the man was dismissed.

S. S. Conn, who has been tried and sentenced to the penitentiary for seven years, for passing counterfeit money, was a favorite pupil of Ball, and it was probably on Conn's trial that the facts were developed that led to Ball's indictment and arrest. He has been lodged in jail. Ball has a wife and four children.

A New Jersey Pedler found Shot in his Wagon.

The town of Redbank, N.J., was on Sunday evening the scene of intense excitement. A foul murder, it was supposed, had been committed, the victim being a pedler. The following are the circumstances of the case:—

Just after dark, a horse, drawing a pedler's wagon, came running into town at the top of his speed. A crowd rushed to stop the horse, when he wheeled into the shed attached to Atkins' Hotel. On looking into the vehicle a fearful spectacle presented itself. On the bottom, in the last agonies of death, lay a man with a pistol shot wound in his right temple. The man was removed into the hotel, and a physician called immediately, but he breathed only a few times.

The deceased was at once recognized as Wm. S. Sterling, of the firm of Sterling & Brother, dealers in patent medicines at Trenton. The supposition was that he had been shot on the road, and after being robbed, his horse turned loose. An examination of his person, and close inspection of the wagon showed plainly, however, that he had come to his death by his own hands. His money, amounting to some fifty dollars, and a gold watch, were found undisturbed. On the bottom of the wagon was found a Colt's revolver,

with two of the chambers discharged. Marks of burnt powder about the wound showed, moreover, that he put the muzzle of the pistol close to his temple before firing. This morning an inquest was held by Mr. Burden, a justice of the peace. A verdict was rendered attributing his death to suicide. The deceased is about forty-five years of age, and is said to leave a family. No cause is assigned for the act.

SLAVE-TRADING MADE VERY EASY.—It is said that Judge Megrath of South Carolina, has ruled in the case of Corrie, of the *Wanderer*, that it is not "piracy" under the act of 1820 to transport Africans from Africa as slaves, to this country, but that it must be proved that the prisoner kidnapped them. If Judge Megrath's view of the law be correct, there is no reason why the Slave-trade should not be carried on, from this moment, as vigorously as it has ever been, because no slave-trader can ever have kidnapping proved against him. Others kidnap, and he is but a receiver. Moreover, if the Slave-trade be not piracy, the sooner it is made piracy the better. It is not a subject which we can afford to abstain from dealing with. Even if we did not owe it to our own dignity and honor, to let the world know what we think of the transportation of negroes to our shores by force, there are too many people interested in reviving the "accursed traffic" to leave us any room for hesitation. If we do not act they will.

Under Judge Megrath's ruling, Senator Wilson's new bill will be utterly useless; inasmuch as it provides cruisers to repress a trade which the Courts declare perfectly lawful. We have reason to be thankful that this mine has been sprung, before Congress adjourned. If the decision had been reserved till June, a lively business might have been done and many fortunes made, before next January.—*Times*.

TIMELY TESTIMONY.

Mr. CHEEVER has commenced a new series of lectures on topics involved in the slavery question. In the first lecture, as reported in the *Tribune*, he thus spoke of different plans for dealing with the slaves.

So supremely and atrociously selfish was the feeling which some in this country had, against the slaves, that they proposed to exterminate them. Others proposed to keep slavery where it was, and not to interfere with it there. Suppose that a deadly pestilence were raging in some parts of our country, and we should dig a vast moat about it, instead of sending aid and physicians, because it was unconstitutional. Suppose that for the sake of the undertakers and coffin-makers, the pretence should be set up, that this was the only constitutional method of acting. It would be diabolical, but not so diabolical as to let slavery alone. Could this be the proposition of Christian reformers, to let slavery live out its days, as a constitutional guaranteed gehenna, when it was in our power to rescue both the murderers and their victims? This let alone policy was just what the devils begged Christ to do. Senator Doolittle had thought of three solutions of slavery, the John Brown solution, which gave the negro equal rights, the Southern fanatical solution, acquiring Cuba and Mexico, and eventually overhauling the Anglo-Saxon race, and the deportation of the black race to some other country. This last he thought the only proper solution. Now, Dr. Cheever said, it could not be done. And if it could, what would the South be, without them? They were the native working population, and would remain there to the end of time. Since the proposal of emancipation in Russia the price of land had quadrupled. Why should it not in this country? What was in the way of emancipation in this country? Why not treat them as free laborers, and pay them wages? Why should we not follow this Scripture? "Masters, give unto your servants, that which is just and equal." This was God's command. So soon as this was followed, the slave constitutions of the States would collapse, and the United States Constitution resume its glorious work at the altar of the worship of freedom, and of a free, living piety. There was no law for slavery in the constitution, but only for freedom. But if there were, no Christian could set it up as his defence for not obeying God's commands. The wine of our social State, was now trodden from the amalgamation and maceration of the black race, as if they were black Hamburg grapes. No wonder that a slave breeding Zion called for more room. Dr. Cheever gave additional quotations from the clerical supporters of slavery in this city. He said, we must get at the conscience of these men. The Word of God in the conscience, was a great fire which could not be shaken off. The hatred of slavery rooted in the consciences of the religious, would soon preclude the people, overflow into politics, and become a Governmental power. Let it be believed then, that slavery was a sin, an unmiti-

gible sin, and that it must be abolished, and utterly put away. The year was not far off, when this should be written in the political platforms of all parties.

The following is from a report in the *Times*:

Dr. Cheever proceeded to express, in very emphatic terms, his dissent from the proposed Abolition of slavery, by deporting the colored race, en masse, to Africa, and opposed the doctrine of confining slavery to the States in which it exists, on the ground that, being a sin, it must be eradicated everywhere. He expressed the belief that total emancipation was inevitable, and claimed for the slave, the right to wages for his work, in a region whose climate and productions forbid successful labor by any other race.

FURTHER FROM CHARLESTON.

FRIDAY A. M.

The struggle concerning a Platform continues, and grows more violent, leaving little prospect of agreement or accommodation.

The *Tribune* says,

The Platform Committee have adopted Mr. Bayard's resolutions—affirming the Dred Scott decision, repudiating squatter sovereignty and Congressional intervention, and that it is the duty of the Federal Government, to protect all species of property in the Territories, on the high seas, or any other place over which it has jurisdiction—by one majority, and then reconsidered and rejected them by the same vote.

The *Herald's* account is, that the above Platform was adopted by a vote of 18 to 15—that the vote was then reconsidered, and a minority Report offered, affirming the Cincinnati Platform, which was rejected by a vote of 17 to 16—and that the majority and minority reports will both be presented to the Convention, for its action, and that there seemed no prospect of coming to a vote for the rival candidates until next week.

THE ATLANTIC TELEGRAPH COMPANY in London, it is said, is taking measures toward another attempt to lay a submarine cable, this season.

FOREIGN.

The *America*, which reached Boston last evening, with European advices to the 8th, brings no intelligence of moment. The *Turin Opinione* announces that in the course of a few days the inhabitants of Nice and Savoy were to be permitted to express themselves upon annexation to France, through universal suffrage. It is note-worthy how accurately the policy of the French Emperor is pursued; first the troops are posted throughout the territory, and then we have the vote. The occupation of Central Italy by the armies of Sardinia has been completed, divisions of Gen. Cialdini's army having been posted in the Romagna, Parma and Modena. Bologna, Ravenna and Ferrara are garrisoned by the Piedmontese. With regard to the new commercial treaty between France and England, the *Moniteur* states that it has already begun to exercise a stimulating influence upon the business of Southern France, unusually large orders for wine and spirits having been received. Prof. Delarue has been appointed Resident Minister at London, of the Swiss Confederation. The Federal Council of that Republic has just addressed a fresh circular on the subject of Savoy to the Government consenting to the General Conference. Gen. Ortega, who made the recent pitiable fiasco in behalf of Don Carlos, had been degraded from his military rank. He is still at large. The affair has made no excitement in Spain. Gen. Lamoriciere, whose appointment as General-in-Chief of the Papal army has been repeatedly reported, has just been gazetted to that position. He had been formerly received at the Vatican. The disturbance previously mentioned as of recent occurrence at Palermo, proves to have been a serious affair. It was only after an obstinate conflict in the streets and houses, that the insurrection was suppressed. A similar uprising at Messina was still unrepressed. Australian advice represent the state of the mining interest as encouraging. Business was dull.—*Times*.

ITALY.

The Pope's Bull of Excommunication.

Apostolic Letters of our Most Holy Master, Pius IX., Pope by the Grace of God, by which the punishment of Major excommunication is inflicted on the invaders and usurpers of some of our Pontifical Provinces.

PIUS P. P. IX.

To the eternal memory of this matter. As the Catholic Church, founded and established by the Lord Christ for the everlasting salvation of mankind, has acquired the form of a perfect society by its divine character, it ought, therefore, in fulfillment of its sacred ministry, to possess that freedom by which it may not be subject to any civil Power. And furthermore, in order to obtain that, the Church required those guarantees which were in accordance with the conditions and necessity of the times. It was, therefore, in accordance with Divine Providence, that after the fall of the Roman Empire, and its consecutive division into several kingdoms, the Romish Pope, whom Christ has established

as the chief and the centre of his whole Church, obtained temporal power. Therefore, it has been ordered by God in the wisest manner, that as such a great number and variety of princes exist, the Holy Pope should enjoy that political liberty which is so much wanted in order to exercise his spiritual power, authority and jurisdiction in the whole world, without any impediments. And, therefore, it was necessary that the Catholic world should not have any reason to suppose that the Romish Pope is subject to any influence of temporal powers, or biased in the exercise of the religious powers which the Holy See has to fulfill over the greater part of the Christians. It is easily understood that the dominion of our Roman Church, although having the appearance of something temporal, nevertheless is really of a spiritual character, by the holy distinction which it enjoys, and by the close ties by which it is connected with all Christian affairs. But this does not prevent that all these things which conduce to the secular welfare of the peoples may be obtained by the Church, as the history of the temporal reign of the Roman Popes during so many centuries shows most clearly. The general good and welfare of the peoples being increased by the temporal power which we are alluding to, it is not astonishing that the enemies of this Church endeavor to weaken and to embarrass it by many intrigues and all kinds of attempts.

In these impious attempts they were vanquished sooner or later by God, who always defends the Church. The whole world knows already how, during these sad times, the adversaries of the Apostolic See have made themselves detestable by their attempts, which were characterized by their lying hypocrisy: in trying to deprive the Holy See of its secular power. They could not obtain their end by an open attack, and by force of arms, but only by false and pernicious principles, by cunning dissimulation in their conduct, and by maliciously provoking popular risings. They did not blush to counsel the people to sedition against their princes, which is clearly and distinctly condemned by the Apostle, when he says: "Let every soul be subject unto higher powers, for there is no power but of God, the powers which are ordained of God; whosoever therefore resisteth the power, resisteth the ordinance of God, and they that resist, shall receive to themselves damnation." These wicked innovators, in attacking the temporal power of the Church, and its temporal dominion, and in despising its venerable authority, go so far in their impudence as to feign esteem for the Church, and obedience to her commands. And it is the more to be deplored that some of those on whom, as sons of the Church, the duty was imposed to protect that Church and to maintain its power, have sullied themselves by their wicked acts. In these mischievous and perverse intrigues which we deplore, the Sardinian government has the principal part, as it is generally known how much in that Kingdom, the Church has suffered injuries and restrictions, which we have already vehemently lamented in our Consistorial Allocution on the 22d of January, 1855. The Sardinian government has, until now, despised our just reclamations, and has even dared to inflict on our Church great injury, and to attack its secular power, while, according to the will of God, the Holy See of St. Peter, as stated above, ought to be protected in the liberty of its Apostolic office. The first evident signs of the hostile attacks, were seen at the Paris Congress of the year 1856, when that power, among other hostile declarations, proposed to weaken the temporal power of the Pope, and the authority of the Holy See. But last year, when war broke out between the Emperor of Austria, and the Emperor of the French and the King of Sardinia, no fraud, no sin, was avoided which could excite the inhabitants of the States of the Church, to sedition. Hence, instigators were dispatched, a great deal of money was spent, arms were supplied, excitement was created by bad pamphlets and journals, and fraud of every kind was employed, even on the part of those who were members of the Embassy of that country at Rome, without any regard to honesty and international right, as they pretended their dignity, in order to be enabled to misuse it, to pursue their dark projects for damaging our Papal government. When, then, in some of our provinces, the sedition, which for some time had already been entertained clandestinely, broke out at last, openly, the agitators proclaimed a Royal dictatorship, and commissioners of the Sardinian government were immediately appointed, who, then, assuming other titles, undertook to govern those provinces. During these occurrences we, remembering our serious office, did not fail in our allocutions of 20th June and 26th September of last year, to complain loudly of these violations of the temporal power, and to remind the violators of the punishment and atonement which are imposed by the canonical laws, and which they became liable to. It might have been expected that the originators of these violations would, in consequence of our repeated admonitions, abstain from their unjust projects, especially as all the chiefs of our Holy Church as well as the faithful believers of every rank, dignity and class, joined their own protests to ours, in order to defend unanimously the rights of the Holy See, and of the Church in general, as they very well understood how much the temporal power, which is made questionable upon this occasion, is necessary for the maintenance of the Papal power. But we shudder in saying it—the Sardinian government has not only despised our admonition and complaints, and our religious resentment but by perseverance in its wickedness by force, money, threats, terror and other cunning means, they obtain the universal vote in their favor, and dared to invade our provinces to occupy

them, and to subject them to their power. This is a great profanation, as the rights of others have been usurped against the law of nature and of God: every law has been overthrown, and the bases of all temporal power and human society have been undermined. We perceive on one side, with the greatest grief, how useless would be all further complaints against those who, like deaf adders, close their ears, and who do not listen to our complaints and admonitions; and, on the other side, we feel what the cause of our Apostolic See and the whole Catholic world requires, for stigmatizing the attempts of those wicked men, in order not by tarrying to prejudice the dignity of our grave office. It resulted that, faithful to the examples of our illustrious predecessors, we exercise that authority which gives us the power to loosen and to bind, in order to employ the necessary severity against the guilty, and to give a salutary example to others.

Having invoked the light of the Holy Spirit in private and public prayers, and having taken the advice of the reverend brothers the Cardinals of our Holy Roman Church, we declare, in accordance with the authority which we hold from Almighty God, and the most holy Apostles Peter and Paul, and also in accordance with our own authority, all those who have taken part in this sinful insurrection in our provinces, in usurping, occupying and invading them, or doing such deeds as we complained of, in our above mentioned Allocutions of June 20 and Sept. 26 of the last year, or those who have perpetrated some of those acts themselves, as well as those who have been their warranters, supporters, helpers, counselors, followers, as well as those who have connived at executing the above mentioned deeds, under whatever pretences and in whatever manner, who perpetrated them themselves, to have taken on themselves atonement of the major excommunication and religious punishment, as they are determined in our Apostolic constitution, and by the decrees of the General Council, especially that of Trent, (sess. 22, chap. 11, on reforms;) and, if necessary, we excommunicate them again, we anathematise them, further declaring that they are to lose all privileges and graces, and indulgence which they enjoyed until now, from our Papal predecessors, and that they cannot in any manner be released or absolved of these censures by any one except ourselves, or the Roman Pontiff then reigning, except at the moment of death; but not in the event of their recovery, when they are again subject to the above punishment, and are unable to receive any absolution until they have retracted, revoked, annulled, and abolished in public, all they have committed, and have brought everything back, fully and effectively, to its former state, and have given complete satisfaction to the Papal power. Therefore, all those who in the remotest manner have participated in those deeds, and also the successors in their offices, are liable to such revocation, and absolution of the above mentioned sins, to do so personally, and in reality, and in truth, and to give the full satisfaction they owe to the Holy See, and under no pretence to be released and freed, but to always remain bound by it until they are worthy to obtain the benefit of absolution: thus we declare by the present letter.

But in being obliged by sad necessity to fulfill this part of our duty, we do not forget that we represent him on earth who wishes not the death of a sinner, but rather that he should be converted and live, for He came into the world to seek and to save those who die: Therefore, in fervent prayer, we implore, and we ask unceasingly, in the meekness of our heart, the mercy of the Almighty to enlighten, by the light of His holy grace, and by His Almighty virtue, to lead back to the path of salvation all those against whom we have been obliged to employ the severity of the religious punishments.

Herewith, by this letter, and all its contents, and all that has been said above, we ordered all who have participated in any way or in any manner, of whatever rank, dignity or class that may be, or whether they are individually mentioned or not, for whose sake the present letter has been written, and who are not sufficiently designated, or who for any reason or pretence whatever, should doubt the signature, or the value of this letter, or who should be brought before justice, and should appeal against it, or who should ask for grace, that this document is and shall always remain, and be considered valid, and shall be invariably and incontestably observed by those to whom it refers; they shall be responsible before every judge or deputy, also before the auditors (*canditores*) of the Apostolic Palace, and before the Cardinals of the Holy Roman Empire, and before the *ad latere legatum* and Nuncios of the See, and before all who possess or will possess similar power and they shall be deprived of all faculty and authority of judging or interpreting, and that if they do it shall be declared invalid.

As the present letter, as is well known, cannot be safely published everywhere, and especially in such places where it would be most required, we will that this letter, or copies of it, shall be posted on the doors of the Lateran Church, on those of the Church of the Prince of the Apostles (*Basilica principis Apostolorum*), on those of the Apostolic chancery, and general curia, (*curia generalis*), in Monte Citorio, and at the corner of the field of Flora, of the city (*in acie campi glorie de Urbe*), as is usual, and the so posted and published letters, and each of these letters, shall have the same power upon every one whom it concerns, as if they had been presented *nominatim*, and *personaliter*. We order that translations, as well as copies, of the printed letters shall be signed by some public notary, and sealed by some person who holds an ecclesiastical dignity, their testimony shall be receivable in every place and in every country, as well in courts of justice as in any other place, they shall be valid as if they were presented and delivered personally.

Dated at Saint Peter, Rome under the ring of the Fishers, 26th day of March, 1860, in the 14th year of our Popedom.

[L S]

PIUS P. P. IX.

In the year of our Lord, 1860, indict III., the 29th day of March, the fourteenth year of the Popedom of our Most Holy Lord and Father in Christ: Pius the Ninth, the present Apostolic letter was published and affixed to the doors of the Lateran and Vatican Churches, the Apostolic Chancery, the great Church of Innocence, and at the top of the field of Flora, by me, Aloys Serafini, Apostolic Curator.

PHILIPPUS OSSAKI, Magister Curiae.

* St. Paul, Ep. ad Rom., c. xiii, v. 1, et seq.

Family Miscellany.

For "The Principia."

CHAPTERS TO YOUNG MEN, ON HOW TO WIN A WIFE.

CHAPTER III.—More about manliness.

I did not say half I wanted to, about manliness, last week, for the scissors of Mr. Editor are as decisive as those of Atropos—only with this convenient difference, that they decide for one week, instead of all eternity.

I want to tell you not to fall in love with every girl you meet. Sometimes we find a man who is blessed with an extraordinarily large capacity for enjoyment. He is perfectly delighted with himself, and everything and everybody that comes in his way. Every Concert, or Exhibition, or Opera is "perfectly magnificent." He is always just of the opinion of the last book he has read, or the last speaker he has heard, and his heart is always taken captive by the last array of bright eyes, diaphanous smiles, and pink ribbons that has flitted before him. Just one, and that the very one he happens to be with, he is certainly going into the consumption for! Does a queenly form, with dark lustrous eyes and regal brow, sweep past, his heart yields quick homage, and he joins the throng of admirers and gives his soul up to the chase, meantime viewing all the world as dross. And then a little curly head and pair of merry blue eyes pop up before him, and dispels the vision. Verily he had at last met his destiny! But no: the maiden only laughs, and shakes her head, and passes on, and just as he feels his heart-cords snapping, and takes to meditating on the relative merit of hemp or a cold bath, a very neat, trim, housewifely little body trips along, and he is all right again, and congratulates himself on his good luck! All girls are alike to him. The noble minded, true hearted maiden, and the giddy, young coquette, who has not a mind above flounces and laces, command equally his love and adoration.

Certainly it is a convenient trait, this being able to look on the sunny side of things, and seeing everything delightful in everybody you meet; but may it not show a great want of depth and penetration? If you fall in love just as readily with a pair of bright eyes, rosy cheeks, and coral lips, and nothing beyond them, as with a girl who has a mind and soul in her, doesn't it show that you don't know the difference? and would any sensible young lady prize your esteem, at that rate? You must have a character of your own to start with. Don't begin this "getting in love" too early! You want to know what you are going to be, before you decide what you can love. Do not form judgments too hastily. There are a great many girls whom you will like, with whom you will form very pleasant friendships, but only one to whom you can give your whole heart.

Another thing:—O, Frederic Augustus! I, who know what sort of stuff a maiden's heart is made of, do solemnly warn you—never get down whining on your knees to one! Love ever looks upward—it wouldn't see you! Pity might look down, and see you, and be moved, but Love—never! Stand up like a man, and say "I love you," in sincere frank, manly tones, and the words may be echoed back.

But, my friend, you must be manly, not only in the society of young ladies, but in every other relation of life. We don't live in the Middle Ages; and in this era of progress, young ladies have got their eyes open. They will know what you are about, and they will judge for themselves. How do you manage your business affairs? If you are a merchant, are you as polite and gentlemanly to the plain woman in calico, who comes to get a spool of cotton, as to the lady in silk who comes to do her spring shopping? Do you think it very smart to use a little cunning for the sake of getting the best of a bargain? If you are a lawyer do you always plead on the right side, or do you espouse the cause which pays best? If you are a minister, are you sure that you are perfectly honest and faithful, that you declare the whole

truth? Or do you compromise a little, here and there, to suit the notions of this or that man of property or influence? Are you perfectly just; perfectly honorable, perfectly manly?

What are your politics? Don't wince, now, and frown, and utter anathemas on "strong-minded women!" What makes you admire those noble old Roman matrons? What makes you glorify the women of the Revolution? Tell me you can esteem a woman who does not take an interest in the welfare of her country! What course are you pursuing? are you catering to the interests of a party, for the sake of some petty office—and think she is going to look up to you as the realization of her ideal?

What is your relation to the world? What is your object in life? Is it to build the biggest ant-hill of the heap? Is it to knock down some of your fellow ants, for the sake of mounting up in their places? And you think she is going to sympathize with you? O, no, you don't! You know better!

AUNT HETTY.

For the Principia.

That's she—is it? walking demurely home from church, of a Sunday afternoon, with her huge black bonnet, black shawl, and broad white cap-border half-drooping over her face; with her formidable feather fan in her right hand, just as she has always carried it, ever since I can remember—the lower end resting for support within the partly closed mouth of her great silk work-bag. I well remember when I used to think that bag was fathomless, and I had a child's good reason for the fancy; for, often as I might surreptitiously introduce my hand therein, during the long dreary church hours, I never yet, (as the sailors say) "found soundings." I have heard it boldly asserted that the said bag held a patent pailful without spilling, but for this I cannot vouch, only as a matter of tradition.

But I am older now, and would not, for the world, be seen peering into other people's reticules; and cousin Henry would not, either, for he is a man now,—a radical, reformatory, go-aheaditive business man, six feet two, on the prairie, and denies all about helping me get the "sweet flag" and "sassafras" out of his mother's work pocket, in church. But it's none the less true, for all that.

Aunt Hetty has opened the gate into the front yard. (By-the-way, that same rusty old ploughshare was hung on that same rusty clinking chain, twenty-five years ago, and has performed its duty of porter, faithfully, ever since.) The huge elm stands there by it, scarred like an ancient warrior, with many marks of Cousin Henry's destructive jack-knife. A bed of purple and red China asters has blossomed and died ever since the farm house first stood here. The little garden, too, is just the same, except that the melons and squashes seem smaller now, than they used to.

Ah! what a destructive power there is, in accumulating years, that tears away the magic glass of Fancy, through which we recollect to have seen them in childhood. Away through the open door, we can see the floor of white oak, sanded brushed into rhomboids and segments of circles, and the table of the same material is whiter than the floor. But we cannot stop in the kitchen, for that is contrary to Aunt Hetty's law of hospitality, which changeth not—so we are hurried past, into the "square room." And now, if you expect, because Uncle Jotham owns more acres, and a larger dairy than any other man in town, to see any extra display of his wealth here, you must prepare immediately for disappointment.

The floor, a little whiter, if possible, than the one in the kitchen, is sanded just like it. It's of no use to tell Aunt Hetty how cheap, useful, convenient and ornamental, carpets are—she shakes her head pleasantly, but firmly, and says it's all useless extravagance—this parade of carpets, that you see everywhere, now-a-days. Yet our good old friends, are not penurious—far from it. Many a ten dollar bill has gone right out of Uncle Jotham's great sheepskin pocket-book, into the hands of the suffering; and you can scarcely find a family in the vicinity, in straitened circumstances, who does not owe him the debt of gratitude.

But we are ungenerously wandering from the front room where, as Aunt Hetty's guests, we are in duty bound to remain.

In the corner stands the china closet with its glass doors, and between the two front windows hangs the great looking glass at an angle of forty-five degrees with the wall;

but I stand beneath its inclined surface fearlessly now, for time and experience have taught me that it will not fall.

Against the wall, on the right of the mirror, hangs a lithograph of Washington, and opposite to it, the pride and glory of that room,—my grandmother's profile, cut out of white paper, and laid over black silk. There is an oil painting of uncle's brother, on the other side of the room, and Cousin Henry's ambrotype lies on the table in velvet and pearl case, but all of them wouldn't buy that stained and faded relic.

Almost the only change that I ever remember to have seen in this room, is, twice a year, when house-cleaning day comes, and Aunt Hetty takes the profile reverentially down and carries it to the opposite side of the room and hangs it up; and there assembles the whole household in solemn conclave, to decide whether it does not look better there than it did in the former place; and next fall she will take it down just as carefully, and carry it back again, and if I am there, I shall tell her that it looks better there, than where it now hangs, for there it was, so long ago, on the woful day when Cousin Henry cut a piece from his mother's silk shawl, to make mine with.

And yet it is from just such quaint, quiet, unchangeable homes as this, that the men and women have gone forth, who rule the destinies of our mighty republic. The calm, pure, peaceful happiness that dwells beneath that moss-grown roof, cannot be found behind the splendid brown stone front, whose owner orders a fresh invoice of damask and brussels every fall and spring, and dodges his creditors like the pestilence!

But its no use talking—the young world will keep on trying to live two lives in one, and gather together gold with marvelous haste; but after all, they will turn for the treasures of their heart wealth, to the memories of just such antiquated homes as Aunt Hetty's.

KATIE LYNN.

From the Tract Journal.

AFRICAN CHILDREN'S BENEVOLENT SOCIETY.

A missionary in Africa has a school of colored children who love the Savior. One day he told them there were a great many idolaters still in the world, and that there were many Christian societies for sending missionaries to teach them about Jesus Christ. They were very much interested in this, and desired to do something to help in the good work. But their parents were poor, and had no money to give them.

At last they came, full of joy, to the missionary, and said they wished to form a juvenile missionary society. "But what can you give?" he asked. "Oh, we will go to work and earn something." So the largest boys went into the woods and collected bark for the use of the tanner, others obtained resinous gum from the trees, and sold it, and the smallest boys gathered ashes for the soap-maker. The little girls said some of them would collect locks of wool, which they could find caught on the bushes, and sell them; and others would raise fowls, and sell the eggs and chickens.

Thus they all went to work, and at the end of the year, they had earned fifty dollars! If the children in this country were as much engaged in works of benevolence as these African children, the gospel might very soon be sent to all the world.

J. S. W.

Confession of Infidelity.

"I seem," says Hume, "affrighted and confounded with the solitude in which I am placed by my philosophy. When I look abroad on every side, I see dispute, contradiction, distraction. When I turn my eye inwardly I find nothing but doubt and ignorance. Where am I? or what am I? To what condition shall I return? I am confounded with questions. I begin to fancy myself in a most deplorable condition, environed with darkness on every side."

Voltaire says: "The world abounds with wonders, and also victims. In man is more wretchedness than in all other animals put together." How did he Judge of it? By his own heart. He adds: "Man loves life, yet he must die; spends his existence in diffusing the misery he has suffered—cutting the throats of his fellow-creatures for pay—cheating and being cheated. The bulk of mankind," he continues, "are nothing more than a crowd of wretches, equally criminal, equally unfortunate. I wish I had never been born."

Hear what St. Paul says: "I have fought a good fight, I have finished my course, I have kept the faith. Henceforth there is laid up for me a crown of righteousness, which the Lord, the righteous Judge, will give me at that day"—*Lutheran Observer.*

How MUSIC IS MADE UP.—The following ingenious and beautifully expressed thoughts upon the sources of music, are from the pen of Taylor, of the Chicago Journal:

It is a curious thought that the great translators of the dialect of heaven—the Mozarts, the Handels, and Jubals of all time—have caught their notes from the hammers of Tubal Cain, or the murmur of running streams, or the wind sighing among the reeds, or the songs of singing birds; that, should there be a bird convention, upon a summer's day by a flowing river, near a ringing forge, and some masterpiece that has rolled a tone of melody through mighty ministers were performed, its author would be pronounced a faithful listener—"only this and nothing more." How the robin would claim its warble, and the brown thrush recognize its own; the bell-note Robert O. Lincoln would catch up and repeat, and the quail whistle back its little share of the song. The soft sighing winds would echo a tone now and then: the stream, through the reeds, murmur on with its own; the hammers beat out the battle-like strain and the rain on the roof wash away a whole bar of "the score."

So, when the anthem was ended, it would all be drifted, like the down of the thistle, back to nature and labor again. The lark would go up with a carol, and the little ground sparrow fly away with a note, and the music be scattered abroad.

BLESSEDNESS IN SORROW.—There are times when some great sorrow has torn the mind away from its familiar supports, and laid level those defenses which in prosperity seemed so stable—when the most rooted convictions of the reason seemed rottenness, and the blossom of our heavenward imagination goes up before that blast as dust—when our works, and joys, and hopes, with all their multitude, and pomp, and glory, seems to go down together into the pit, and the soul is left as a garden that hath no water, and as a wandering bird cast out of the nest—in that day of trouble, and of treading down and perplexity, the noise of viols, the mirth of the tabret, and the joy of the harp, are silent in the grave. Blessed is the man who, when cast into this utter wretchedness, far away from all creature comforts and from all comfort, can yet be willing, amidst all his tears and his anguish, there to remain, as long as God shall please.

HAPPINESS.—Now let me tell you a secret—a secret worth knowing. This looking forward for enjoyment don't pay. From what I know of it, I would as soon chase butterflies for a living, or bottle up moonshine for cloudy nights. The only true way to be happy, is to take the drops of happiness as God gives them to us, every day of our lives. The boy must learn to be happy while he is plodding over his lessons; the apprentice while he is learning his trade, the merchant while he is making his fortune. If he fails to learn this art, he will be sure to miss his enjoyment when he gains what he sighs for.

HELP YOURSELF.—"Heaven helps those who help themselves" is a well-worn maxim, embodying in a small compass the results of vast human experience. The spirit of self-help is the root of all genuine growth in the individual; and, exhibited in the lives of many, it constitutes the true source of national vigor and strength. Help from without is often enfeebling in its effects, but help from within invariably invigorates. Whatever is done for men or classes, to a certain extent takes away the stimulus and necessity of doing for themselves; and where men are subjected to over-government, the inevitable tendency is to render them comparatively helpless.

NOTICE.

THE CHURCH ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY will hold its ANNUAL MEETING by two meetings in the Tremont Temple, Boston, May 29th, at 11 o'clock A. M., and 7½ P. M. Dr. Cheever will preach before the Society in the evening.

WRITINGS OF WILLIAM GOODELL.

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